

Message Text

SECRET

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70

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

DRC-01 /164 W

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R 311918Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8462

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T BONN 15812

NOFORN

SHAPE FOR INTAF: VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR: OVERALL GERMAN APPROACH

REF: BONN 13738

1. WE HAVE REPORTED IN THE REFERENCED AND SUBSEQUENT
MESSAGES CONCERNING THE INCREASINGLY CAUTIOUS APPROACH
DEVELOPING IN GERMAN MBFR POLICY AS THE OCT 30 OPENING
DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS DREW NIGH. WE HAVE EMPHASIZED
THAT THIS INCREASING GERMAN CAUTION WAS THE PRODUCT OF
OBJECTIVE, POLITICAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS. THIS
DEVELOPING POSTURE HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF IN PARTICULAR
BY AN AUGMENTED EMPHASIS ON MINIMIZATION OF RISK AND
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A DIMINISHED PRIORITY FOR THE AMBITIOUS USE OF MBFR

AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DETENTE.

2. ONE OUTCOME TO DATE OF THE INCREASING ACCENT ON CONSERVATISM AND CALCULABILITY IN GERMAN MBFR POLICY HAS BEEN INCREASING COOPERATION AND UNITY OF THE FONOFF MBFR AND NATO DEPTS. FOR SOMETIME PREVIOUS TO THIS SHIFT IN EMPHASIS, THE NATO DEPT. HAD CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT WITHIN THE FONOFF TO WIN STATE SECRETARY FRANK'S APPROVAL FOR A "DAMAGE PREVENTION" ORIENTED APPROACH TO MBFR, REPRESENTING THE ENTERPRISE AS A KIND OF EXPEDIENT NECESSARY TO BEAT BACK U.S. CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES, BUT UNLIKELY TO PRODUCE GAINS IN WESTERN SECURITY PER SE. SOURCES IN THE NATO AND MBFR DEPTS NOW CONFIRM THAT THEY BOTH TEND TO SHARE THIS SAME MORE RESTRICTIVE VIEW OF THE USES OF MBFR.

3. AS WE MENTIONED IN THE REFTTEL PARA 10, ONE CAUSE OF THE ENHANCED GERMAN CAUTION ON THE MBFR ISSUES HAS BEEN THE ABSENCE SINCE JULY, DUE TO ILLNESS, OF FRG DISARMAMENT COMMIONER ROTH, WHO GENERALLY HAS LEANED TOWARD IMAGINATIVE DEVICES TO CODIFY THE ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET FORCES. IN HIS ABSENCE, RUTH HAS BEEN IN CHARGE OF THE FONOFF DISARMAMENT DEPT AND HAS TENDED TO TAKE A MORE CONSERVATIVE LINE. IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT THESE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUTH AND ROTH HAVE BEEN OVER NUANCES RATHER THAN ESSENTIALS; HOWEVER THEY HAVE BEEN EVIDENT, PARTICULARLY IN THE RECENT ALLIANCE DISCUSSIONS OVER COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS AND PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES.

4. AMBASSADOR ROTH RETURNED TO HIS OFFICE ABOUT A WEEK AGO. WITH THE PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS ISSUE STILL BEING EXAMINED IN NATO AND WITH THE GERMAN POSITION ON THIS TOPIC STILL HIGHLY FLUID, IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING IF ROTH'S RETURN PRODUCES A SLIGHTLY MORE FORTHCOMING GERMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES THAN HAS BEEN EVIDENT IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS. IT MAY BE ADDED THAT SOME DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIALS ALSO MIGHT BE INCLINED TO SUPPORT SUCH AN
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APPROACH AND ARE IN ANY EVENT DETERMINED TO HAVE THEIR SAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY TOWARD MBFR STABILIZING MEASURES AND PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN15812
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1 HILLENBRAND
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973103/aaaaabyp.tel
Line Count: 111
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BONN 13738
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: OVERALL GERMAN APPROACH
TAGS: PARM, GE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005